000society in times of decision or crisis.

564 Individual status also improved with education, more particularly with the attainment of a degree in the official examinations and appointment to official position. An individual's educational or official career was usually dependent on the willingness and ability of the family to support him during a long period of study. A particularly promising youngster of a poor family might occasionally be underwritten by the clan or village. Whatever his means of financial support, his success in the examinations was a reflection of proper upbringing and honored his family and, to a lesser extent, his clan and village almost as much as himself. The wealth usually accumulated by an official during his career also materially enhanced the village and clan as well as the family. For these reasons, reflected glory accrued to the kin of an illustrious scholar or official for generations after his death.

C. Political Role

529 To a remarkable extent, the Chinese imperial system operated by moral suasion with a minimum use of force and without a developed, codified system of law. This achievement was made possible through the state's utilization of the family as a training ground for loyalty to the state and the virtues prized by it as part of the machinery of government. The root virtue of

associated with the old image of brotherhood and friendship. On the other hand it increasingly subjects each individual to a type of authority that is reminiscent of the old all-powerful father of the family. For certain types of work, for example, team projects carried on by Party cadres, the former may be encouraged as the efficient pattern. But for the masses of the population, submission of the individual to group is the ordained pattern.

E. Face

554 In traditional China, "face" meant one's moral reputation (lien) and one's accumulated moral and material prestige in the eyes of the community (mien-tzu). One's lien, or moral reputation, was solidified by adherence to the ethnical forms of society in all human dealings. One's mien-tzu could be increased by making important contacts, by acts of conspicuous generosity; but this could be done only within the rôle which society

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61. Cf. Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 973, Jan. 21, 1955, pp. 31-32; "...when parents are counterrevolutionaries, the child should treat them as enemies."

62. Cf. Theodore Chen, op.cit., p. 324, and Weakland-Bunzel, pp. 153-54.

63. Cf. Hsien-chin Hu, "The Chinese Concepts of Face," American Anthropologist, Vol. 46, (1944), pp. 45-64. The word lien is more current in North China than in the Yangtze Valley and the south. In the lower Yangtze Valley, according to Miss Hu (p. 46, note 5), mien-k'ung is used for lien.

554 assigned to the individual. To "get above oneself" in a play for prestige was actually "to lose face" (tiu mien-tzu). The widespread use of go-betweens in business, marriages, and political negotiations was a device for insuring that, in the event of failure, neither principal would "lose face." Consideration for the "face" of others was highly regarded, and, in actual behavior, care for one's own and others' "face," particularly of one's family, was conducive to the surface harmony of Chinese social relations.

Modern Chinese critics have argued that this harmony was too dearly bought, that individual concern for "face," intensified by community pressure, stifled by individual initiative and made creative people into timid conformists who sacrificed all for the preservation of superficial prestige in the community. This, they held, worked against China's successful adjustment to the modern world.

The Communists have built on this sort of criticism and dissatisfaction and, in seeking to release individual energies for the purposes of the Communist state, have made a frontal attack on the notion of "face." Mao sarcastically describes the attitude they seek to destroy: "Failing to start an argument in principle with a person, even when you know he is in the wrong, letting things slide for the sake of peace and cordiality, all because he is an old friend, a fellow villager, a fellow student, a close friend, someone beloved, an old colleague, or an old subordinate. Or failing to make any clear

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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decision, speaking about [the error] in allusions 554
in order to preserve harmony and unity...."[64]

The Communists single out for public recognition individuals who have ruthlessly battered their way toward one of the Communist goals with utter disregard for "face, their own or others." They praise children who have denounced their father, which, in older China, would have been condemned as utter destruction of the family's "face." Communist writings indicate that the older attitudes have been hard to overcome. Liu Shao-ch'i is fulminating against them when he says: "Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is utterly wrong."[65] Obviously the universal "struggle meetings" for personal criticism and self-criticism in the presence of the group are destructive of the old feeling for "face." Indeed, the leadership may regard them as one of the principal devices for the complete elimination of this traditional attitude.

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64. Mao Tse-tung, "In Opposition to Liberalism," written in 1937, translation in Compton, op.cit., pp. 184-85.

65. Liu Shao-ch'i, "On Inner-Party Struggle," Current Background, No. 105, Aug. 5, 1951, p. 5.

2: Gamble S-8 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters. 596

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line. 597

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 13 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 13 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married. 596 582

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records. 596 554

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families. 596 369 166

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

581 Traditionally, it is for the furtherance of good-will between the two families that the marriage is arranged.

582 In the selection of mates, the Chinese follow the principle of exogamy, i.e., no two persons of the same clan-name can be married. The P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have not violated this rule. In this village, families of different clan-names are found. It is, however, difficult to explain why only one family has its daughter-in-law from the same village. All families seem to prefer to find wives for their sons from and to marry their daughters away to other villages. The areas of marriage-relationship are, however, limited to a ten mile zone. Thus, the villagers do prefer their relatives to be neither too near nor too far away.

There is no special preference given to cross-cousin marriage. While marriage of a girl to her father's sister's son is often welcomed by both families, a union of a girl with her mother's brother's son is repulsive. The flow of girls from one family to another in cross-cousin marriage seems to follow the principle of one-way traffic. There is, so to speak, no return.

584 Generally, a marriage is arranged by a go-between who may be a relative or a friend of the two families. Professional go-betweens are seldom engaged. Once an arrangement has been made, the two families consult a geomancer to determine whether there is any "inherited" obstacle to the union.

585 554 A wedding is indeed a great occasion for the whole village. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony varies in direct proportion with the financial ability of the family concerned. A rich family with a simple wedding would be degraded, but a poor family with an elaborate wedding is much criticized. The principle is to have one behave as would be expected in his position.

Formal invitations are seldom sent, but villagers and near relatives get the news much ahead of time. Indeed, in the preparation of a wedding, friends and relatives are very often invited to help, for instance, in the making of wedding gowns and other garments for the bride and the bride-groom and family members. Unrelated persons are not prohibited from participation, and they are invited to share the wedding supper provided they contribute in the form of presents. Consequently, a wedding is a joy to all, because one may get more than he usually contributes.

833 The act of copulation begins on the wedding night. Shortly before this, the newly-weds are in "courtship" with the husband

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

*441 *467 bers who have a dispute to settle. The Cooks specifically mention that the officers have the power to "expel the offender."

B. Qualifications Requisite for Guild Officers

*441 *467 554 The most important qualification for guild leadership, as reported by guild representatives, is general "capacity or ability." Twenty-one guilds give this as a primary qualification. The next in importance is "age and virtue or uprightness of character." Table IX shows that the qualifications of age and character are emphasized especially among the professional and craft guilds, whereas in the commercial groups there is special interest in the economic standing and income of the officers. Since in the latter class there is relatively more money invested and more at stake financially in the guilds' operations, and also since these guilds are registered both in the Chamber of Commerce and in the Board of Police and are subject to more systematic taxation, it is natural that there should be greater interest in the economic factors.

The following replies will bring out the contrast between these groups. Qualifications for officers are thus described by certain of the craft guilds: "The aged and virtuous are usually elected" (Carpenters); "those of good reputation, of upright character and executive ability" (Cloisonné Designers); "the aged and impartial, but sometimes the bad element" (Tinkers). Contrasted with these replies is that of the Table and Chair Guild: "stores having good business and able managers." Qualifications mentioned by some of the professional guilds were: "The experienced, honest and aged, and the famous actors" (Actors); "the just and able" (Barbers); "members more advanced in years" (Waiters); "the capable and impartial" (Porters).

Contrasted with these replies are some from commercial

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

organizations: from the Coal Shops, "the managers of shops that have a capital of over $5,000"; from the Rice and Flour Guild, "managers of stores that are old and of sound standing are elected"; from the Silk and Satin Stores, "heads of stores which have the largest amount of capital and the most famous members." The Sweet Oil Stores report that their officers are "men with large capacity and capable store heads."

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The Clock Stores Guild formerly was composed entirely of Roman Catholic parishioners. The French Fathers years before had trained a certain number of their parishioners in the art of mending clocks. Inasmuch as many non-Catholics have joined the guild, there is no religious qualification either for membership or for the holding of office. The only organization that limits its officers in the matter of birth is the Porters Guild in which only the sons of former head men or other officers may be candidates for office.

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

TABLE IX

QUALITIES FOR LEADERSHIP INDICATED BY REPLIES TO QUESTION, "WHAT TYPE OF MEN ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE?"

(The asterisk indicates type elected)

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	Age	Economic standing	Moral character	Capability	Fame
Craft Guilds:					
Awning Makers		•		•	
Bakers				•	
Carpenters	•		•		
Cloth Pasters			•	•	
Cloisonné Designers			•	•	•
Painters	•	•			
Paper Hangers				•	
Shoe Fasteners				•	•
Table and Chair		•		•	
Tailors	•			•	
Tinkers	•		•		
	4	3	4	8	2
Commercial Guilds:					
Coal Stores	•				
Confectionery Stores	•	•	•	•	
Dye Stuff Stores	•				
Fur Merchants		•		•	
Hat Stores				•	
Mutton Shops				•	•
Oil Stores				•	
Pork Shops		•			
Restaurants		•		•	
Rice Stores		•			•
Second-hand Clothes Stores		•			
Silk and Satin Stores		•			•
Sweet Oil Stores		•		•	
	3	8	1	7	3
Professional Guilds:					
Actors	•		•	•	•
Barbers			•	•	
Blind			•	•	
Cooks	•		•	•	
Kitchen Coolies				•	
Porters			•	•	
Waiters	•				
	3	0	5	6	1
Total	10	11	10	21	6

554 In addition to these we found that only one store used the modern type of stove for heating; the rest still use the coal-ball oven. Lighting everywhere is is by means of kerosene lamps, with only some variation in the size of the lamps.